

# Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	xvii
<i>List of Figures</i>	xix
<i>List of Maps</i>	xxi
<i>List of Photographs</i>	xxiii
<b>1. Introduction - Studying Hazard and Risk in Pastoral Societies</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Discarded Boreholes and Protected Pastures: the Way to the Subject of the Study	2
1.2. Research on Risk Management in Anthropology and the Social Sciences -an Overview	3
1.2.1. Actor-Oriented Approaches to the Study of Risk	4
1.2.2. Ethnographic Approaches	5
1.2.3. Interpretative Approaches	6
1.3. Theoretical Scope of this Study	6
1.4. Key Concepts: Hazard, Risk, and Uncertainty	7
1.4.1. Hazards and Damage	10
1.4.2. The Perception of Hazards	11
1.4.3. Risk Minimisation	13
1.5. On Conducting Fieldwork in Two Societies	14
1.6. Comparative Research	16
<b>2. An Outline of Pokot and Himba Societies: Environment, Political Economy and Cultural Beliefs</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1. The Pastoral Pokot	20
2.1.1. The Ecology of the Northern Baringo Plains	20
2.1.2. Pastoral Expansion and Colonial Domination: The Historical Developments of the Pastoral Pokot	22
2.1.3. The Family Herds: the Household based Economy of the Pastoral Pokot	28
2.1.4. Descent and Age: Social Organisation amongst the Pastoral Pokot	33
2.1.5. Councils, Ritual Experts and Chiefs: Political Organisation amongst the Pastoral Pokot	35
2.1.6. Solidarity and Respect: The Belief System of the Pastoral Pokot	36

2.2.	The Himba of Kaokoland	37
2.2.1.	The Ecology of Northern Kaokoland	38
2.2.2.	From Early Integration into the World System to Colonial Encapsulation: The Historical Development of the Pastoral Himba	39
2.2.3.	Household Economy and Pastoral Production	43
2.2.4.	Double-Descent and Patron-Client Networks: Social Organisation amongst the Pastoral Himba	51
2.2.5.	Chiefs and Councillors: Political Organisation amongst the Pastoral Himba	52
2.2.6.	Death, Commemoration and Ancestor Worship: The Himba Belief System	53
2.3.	Comparing Himba and Pokot Societies	54
<b>3.</b>	<b>Hazards and Damages</b>	<b>65</b>
3.1.	Demographic Growth and a Narrowing Resource Base	65
3.1.1.	Rapid Growth: Demographic Development of the Pokot	66
3.1.2.	Slow Growth: Demographic Development in Kaokoland	70
3.1.3.	Comparative Discussion of Pokot/Himba Demographic Trends in Relation to the Resource Base	74
3.2.	Environmental Degradation	76
3.2.1.	Degradation in Nginyang Division	77
3.2.2.	Degradation in Northern Kaokoland	83
3.2.3.	A Comparison of Degradation in the Two Pastoral Areas	89
3.3.	Regional Marginalisation, Emergent Internal Stratifications and the Loss of Entitlements	90
3.3.1.	Capricious Relations: Colonial Encapsulation and Trade in Pokot Land	91
3.3.2.	Unmaking a Market: The Repression of Trade in Kaokoland	96
3.3.3.	A Comparative Perspective on Marginalisation, Stratification and the Loss of Entitlements	109
3.4.	Short Term Climatic Variability – Drought and its Effect on Livestock Herds	110
3.4.1.	Rainfall Variability	111
3.4.2.	The Effects of Droughts on Fodder Production	114
3.4.3.	The Effects of Reduced Fodder Production on Livestock Mortality	115
3.4.4.	The Distribution of Losses amongst Households	117
3.5.	Livestock Diseases and their Effect on Livestock Mortality	122
3.5.1.	Livestock Mortality due to Diseases amongst the Pokot	122
3.5.2.	Livestock Mortality due to Diseases amongst the Himba	125
3.5.3.	Comparison of Livestock Mortality due to Diseases	127
3.6.	Violent Conflict	129
3.6.1.	The Gains and Spoils of Violence: Interethnic Violence in North-western Kenya	129
3.6.2.	Caught in the Middle: Raiders, Administrators and the Military	136
3.6.3.	Violence as a Hazard to Pastoral Viability: Pokot and Himba Compared	137

<b>4. The Perception of Droughts and Disasters</b>	<b>145</b>
4.1. The Enemy is us: The Social Appropriation of Drought and Disasters among the Pokot	146
4.2. “In the neck of a person there is a bone” – Traditions of Drought and Disaster amongst the Himba	157
4.3. A Comparative Account of Pokot and Himba Perceptions of Disasters	170
<b>5. Coping Strategies during a Drought and Disaster</b>	<b>175</b>
5.1. Changing Food Habits: Slaughter, Sharing, Substituting	175
5.1.1. Pokot Foodways during Famines	176
5.1.1.1. Increased Slaughter	176
5.1.1.2. The Sharing of Food	181
5.1.1.3. Living on Meagre Resources: Substituting Food	186
5.1.2. Himba Food Ways during Famines	188
5.1.2.1. Increased Slaughter	188
5.1.2.2. The Sharing of Food	191
5.1.2.3. In Praise of Palm Nuts: Substituting Food	192
5.1.3. A Comparison of Pokot and Himba Foodways during Famines	197
5.2. Increased Sales of Livestock	199
5.2.1. Taking from Meagre Accounts: Pokot Livestock Sales during a Drought	199
5.2.2. Taking from Full Accounts: Himba Sales Strategies	205
5.2.3. A Comparison between Pokot and Himba Sales Strategies	207
5.3. Increased Mobility	210
5.3.1. Erratic Moves: Pokot Mobility Patterns during a Drought	211
5.3.2. Moving to Survive: Himba Mobility Patterns during a Drought	223
5.3.3. A Comparative Account of Mobility Patterns during a Drought	229
5.4. Diversifying Income Generating and Food Producing Strategies During a Crisis	231
5.4.1. Ten Cent Jobs and New Niches: Pokot Attempts at Diversifying their Economy	231
5.4.2. The Failure to Diversify? The Himba Approach to Diversification	234
5.4.3. A Comparative View on Diversification during Periods of Stress	236
5.5. Crisis Management through Ritual	237
5.5.1. Reducing Uncertainty and Fighting Hazards through the use of Oracles and Ritual among the Pokot	238
5.5.1.1. Oracles: From Reading Intestines to Prophetic Visions	239
5.5.1.2. Individual and Household-Based Rituals	241
5.5.1.3. Community-Based Rituals	246
5.5.2. Co-Opting the Ancestors: Himba Attempts at Reducing Uncertainty and Reducing Hazards	259
5.5.2.1. Oracles	259

5.5.2.2.	Protective Magic ( <i>okuvindika</i> )	262
5.5.2.3.	Family-Based Magic	263
5.5.2.4.	Community-Based Magic	264
5.5.3.	A Comparative Account of Ritual Approaches to Crisis Management	264
<b>6.</b>	<b>Buffering Mechanisms: Minimising Vulnerability</b>	<b>269</b>
6.1.	The Diversification of the Economy and Flexible Property Rights	270
6.1.1.	Diversification at the Margins: Pokot Attempts at Herd Diversification and Agriculture	270
6.1.2.	Sharing Meagre Resources: Pokot Inheritance and the Splitting of Property Rights	274
6.1.3.	Standing on Two Legs: Himba Herd Diversification and Small-Scale Agriculture	276
6.1.4.	Concentrating Resources: Himba Livestock Ownership Rights and Inheritance	279
6.1.5.	Comparing Property Rights and Diversification	282
6.2.	Networks of Security, Networks of Dominance	283
6.2.1.	Kinship, Friendship and Exchange among the Pokot	283
6.2.1.1.	Structural, Emotive, and Normative Correlates to Reciprocal Exchange	289
6.2.1.2.	The Exchange Network Put to the Test: Transactions during a Drought	292
6.2.2.	Networks of Dominance among the Himba of Northwest Namibia	294
6.2.2.1.	Inheritance and Livestock Loans among the Himba of Northwest Namibia	294
6.2.2.2.	The Exchange Network Put to the Test: Exchange and Recovery after the Drought of 1981	302
6.2.3.	Comparing Exchange Networks	310
6.2.3.1.	A formal Comparative Account of Livestock Exchange Networks	310
6.2.3.1.a.	Structural Qualities of Networks (Density, Clusters)	310
6.2.3.1.b.	Structural Properties of Single Actors: Degree, Closeness and Betweenness Centrality	312
6.2.3.1.c.	Relational Analysis: Cliques, Clusters and Factions	313
6.2.3.2.	A Qualitative Comparative Account of Exchange Networks in Two Pastoral Societies	314
6.3.	Resource Protection in Two Pastoral Societies	316
6.3.1.	From Communal Resource Management to Open-Access Resource Management among the Pokot	316
6.3.1.1.	The Development of Pokot Land Tenure in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Times	317
6.3.1.2.	The Failure of the 'Traditional' System of Resource Protection: Pokot Rangelands as Open-Access Resource	318

<b>Contents</b>	<b>xv</b>
6.3.2. Communal Resource Management among the Himba	325
6.3.2.1. Resource Protection in a Historical Context	325
6.3.2.2. Pasture Management in the 1990s	325
6.3.2.3. The Protection of Trees	336
6.3.3. Resource Protection in Two Pastoral Societies: the Comparative Perspective	337
6.4. Foundations of Moral Economies: Solidarity and Patronage	339
6.4.1. Pokot – The Ethos of Egalitarian Exchange	340
6.4.1.1. Solidarity, Respect and Internal Peace: Norms and Values	340
6.4.1.2. Strong Brotherly Bonds: the Reification of Identity in Rituals	344
6.4.1.3. Being Surrounded by Enemies: Visualising Ethnic Boundaries	346
6.4.2. Himba Morality: Patronage, Kinship and Ethnicity	350
6.4.2.1. Authority and Generosity: Norms and Values	350
6.4.2.2. From Kinship-Based Rituals to Communal Rituals	351
6.4.2.3. Boundary Maintenance and Cross-Cutting Ties: Ethnic Identity and Economic Exchange	356
6.4.3. A Comparative Approach to Moral Economies	360
<b>7. Hazards, Risk and Risk Minimisation in African Pastoral Societies</b>	<b>365</b>
7.1. Changing Hazards: the Interplay between Ecology and Political Economy	365
7.1.1. Demographic growth and Environmental Change	366
7.1.2. Independent Factors of Stress: Droughts, Epidemics and Violent Conflicts	371
7.1.3. The Nature and Distribution of Damages	372
7.2. The Perception of Hazards	373
7.3. The Development of Risk Minimising Strategies and Buffering Institutions	378
7.3.1. Crisis Management: From Local Resources to Food Aid	378
7.3.2. Economic Change and the Development of Buffering Institutions	384
7.4. Risk Minimisation and Economic Change	389
<b>References</b>	<b>399</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>000</b>
<b>Photographs</b>	<b>000</b>
<b>Literature</b>	<b>000</b>